515 care given to the body, but they find washing completely useless and even disastrous to health. They even claim that if they washed [826] every day they would become ill. Their argument is that daily ablutions of the limbs make the skin scale off.

751 For them the main question is protecting the different parts of the body from the rigors of the sun. All the care that they give the body is to that end.

291 They are in the habit of wearing clothing of material heavily 302 dyed with indigo which comes off on the skin, giving it a dark-blue color. Far from trying to remove this dye by washing, they become prouder of themselves as the layer of blue becomes thicker. They rub their limbs and faces with new materials to obtain the desired color.

302 To make their skin softer and more brilliant they smear their [171] limbs with a fatty substance, butter or animal fat. This custom is also adopted by Sudanese Negroes and the desert Arabs.

515 The Tuareg pay the most attention to the mouth and teeth. [713] They rinse out their mouths with a lot of water after each meal [824] and brush their teeth with little branches which have one end chewed to form a brush. For this purpose they use irak branches (Salvadora persica) or palm jereed.

302 /258/ The men and women are very fastidious about caring for the hair.

Young boy have their heads shaved except for a crest or tuft of hair left on the top. Men wear long braided hair, with a little halo shaved on the front of the head. They have their hair dressed [503] by their sisters or their female friends, in return for which they offer 276 them a bit of tobacco. The hair styles vary from region to region. [181] They may include a greater or lesser number of braids; the braids may hang down in back or be lifted to the top of the head. At a [282] certain age, when the hair begins to get grey, the men have themselves shaved completely.

horsehair attached to the ends. During the music the player from time to time rubs the horsehair with a piece of resin from the gum tree; this serves as rosin. /288/ The amzad skins are often decorated with painted motifs in very vivid colors, or else they are covered with tifinagh inscriptions indicating the name of the owner and bearing love verses for the use of admirers.

Among the Ihaggaren violins are usually large, reaching as much as 40 centimeters in diameter. In Sudanese tribes, on the other hand, they are much smaller, rarely exceeding 25 to 30 centimeters.

The amzad plays an important role among the Tuareg, who really make a true cult of it. Young men go to listen to the girls play it. After they are married, they love to hear their wives, who charm in this way the empty hours of summer evenings. Not playing the amzad is a punishment that the women inflict on the men, and during battles warriors always try to be brave lest their wives or their fiancées deprive them of music. "There will be no amzad," they used to say upon returning from an unsuccessful raid. This prospect was often sufficient to restore their courage and incite them to go efface their defeat.

The ahal. -- At about the age of sixteen, boys and girls have access to adult society and begin to participate in the ahal.

The word ahal means "meeting, conversation, interview," A synonym for it is édéouenné. These musical and literary meetings have a more or less peculiar nature, depending on whether or not they are mixed with asri.

Asri, literally "to run with the bridle loose," means the practice of some very free mores. To live in a state of asri is to exist under conditions which permit one to practice loose mores. Those who can be in a state of asri are pubescent boys and girls, widowers, and divorced people of either sex.

These meetings take place near the camps in the shelter of a wadi, but always out of the sight of old people and respectable people of the tribe. They usually take place before the evening

847 under these circumstances, she usually goes to visit a relative and tries to hide her pregnancy. No one is taken in, but nobody says [756] anything. She goes to see a marabout who, for a rather high price, makes a few mysterious signs before the sinner, writes a few words in Arabic on a small board, washes the writing, and gathers the water in a gourd for the woman to drink. In case these practices are successful (?), a second sum identical to the first one is paid. [278] If not, the woman tries several mixtures, generally with a base of adjerdjir (Cassia abavata), and in case the results are still negative, the baby is simply strangled when it comes into the world. Al- [797] though these mores are still more or less in force, they seem some- [848] what reduced by Islamization, and unnatural mothers are sometimes punished severely.

174 The ahal seems to have existed in ancient North African Libyan tribes. Herodotus mentioned the community of women among the Nasamonians, and the ahal is, in fact, only a derived and evolved form of it, if one could call it evolved.

582 Marriage. -- With the existence of such easy mores, it is understandable that young men and women do not care to marry early. Women rarely marry before the age of twenty, and men, before thirty.

584 Although the girl is free with her body, as we have seen, she [593] still needs her father's authorization to marry. On the other hand, however, it is rare for a husband to be imposed on her or for her to be married before puberty, as is the custom among the Arabs.

/291/ Mates are chosen in the lovers' meetings which form a sort of trial marriage. The suitor must ask the young girl's father through one of his parents or through a religious person if there is one in the region.

[184] Among the Ihaggaren everyone is informed of the suit, but in Aïr this is not the case; there the mother and the family of [587] the girl are informed only when everything is arranged. If the woman has already been married, her father's permission is no longer necessary.

583 The bride price (taggalt) to be paid by the bridegroom-to-be is then set. It is usually seven camels among the Imochar and [584 565] less among the Imrad, where it may be made up of camels, goats, or sheep. Asses are never given. This bride price may be paid all at once or in installments. It becomes the property of the parents of the girl; she, in turn, may be given a dowry by them.

593 In marriage (addoubâl) the woman retains free control of her [562 421] property and in no way meets household expenses. These expenses fall entirely on the husband. By this system, therefore, the woman's fortune grows rapidly, while the man's remains stationary or decreases.

584 As soon as the bride price is settled, the date is set for the marriage, sometimes a few days after the request, other times [184] a year later or even two years if the girl is very young. The latter custom is particularly in use in Sudanese tribes, however.

585 The marriage festivities take place in the girl's camp, and the marriage is consummated only a week later. The brothers and parents of the fiancé come to the camp of the girl's parents, where they are entertained and given a sumptuous meal. During the seven days before the marriage is consummated, the fiancé does not have the right to come to the camp in daylight. He then takes shelter in a tent apart, where his friends keep him company. During this entire period he bears the name of anesdiben.

[536] The entertainment which accompanies the marriage festivities consists of a fantasia executed by meharists who pass back and forth in groups of two or four in front of the women, [533] among whom the fiancée is sitting. The women play the tambourine and violin accompanied by /292/ songs. In the Ahaggar the marriage song is played to the musical rhythm of "aliouen," that is, the olive trees. This custom, according to [174] Dr. Vermale, is a trace of the ancient pagan influence, where the olive tree was the tree dedicated to the goddess of love. (1)

1. Vermale, op. cit., p. 175.

585 A new tent is prepared with all the accessories -- mats, cords,
342 tent stakes -- also new. Inside on the left side is built a little sand mound, oval in shape, on which the consummation is to take place. Afterward, when the camp is forced to move, this edifice is respected and stays in place for several months.

585 On the seventh day, the girl's father has the marriage confirmed by a marabout. Then, in the evening the fiancée, who
[533] has stayed hidden all day at the home of a relative, is led amidst a procession of women playing tambourines to the nuptial tent, where the young man has preceded her.

The next day the young people gather in the tent of the newlyweds, as they do during the days of festivity which follow the marriage. This meeting is called tigedelsatin.

591 The newlyweds live in the camp of the girl's parents for a year. This institution of "service time" /temps de service/ is
[171] mentioned on several occasions in the Old Testament and was practiced by the Hebrews. It means that the fiancé must live with his future family, or quite near it, for a temporary or permanent period of time. This custom results in temporarily restricting the
[593] husband's authority and assuring that they become acquainted and that the young wife is well treated.

587 If the bride has already been married, she leaves for her
591 husband's camp on the seventh day, mounted on a camel and accompanied by her friends and her servants.

585 In the first case, new festivities are held a year later. The
591 men and women belonging to the husband's camp go one evening to the bride's camp and simulate an armed abduction. The meharists who have stealthily approached then rush into the midst of the tents and utter war cries, answered by the cries of terror of the camp women. They surround the tent of the young wife and claim her as belonging henceforth to their family.

[472] /293/ This is the occasion for new gastronomic flights, and the next evening the young woman, wrapped in a big white shawl,

accompanied by her women relatives mounted on asses, leaves, followed by the men on camel back, for her new home. There she is received by the chief and the old women.

While the married couple take refuge in their tent, the company carouses and dances. The festivities begin at sunset and do not end until dawn the next day, when all those present are exhausted.

The young women is then a member of her new family, which she will leave only in case of divorce or the death of her husband. In the meantime, she does not have the right to go visit her parents, but they may come to her camp.

Tuareg women keep a great deal of independence in marriage. It is hard to tell whether they are faithful wives or whether they take advantage of their husbands' often prolonged absences to misbehave. According to some (Duveyrier) their conduct is exemplary; according to others (de Foucauld, Vermale) they leave much to be desired, and the wives continue to practice the light mores learned at the ahal. "Their unique preoccupation," says Dr. Vermale, "is love; having lovers is their only aim." It is certain that former lovers from the lovers' meetings continue to come visit the married women and to praise their charms in the ahal. But it must be explained that the husbands do not show jealousy, which would be in the worst taste, and that this courting seems quite Platonic. It is very difficult to ask questions on this subject, for the Tuareg are careful of their wives' reputations and maintain that they are above reproach.

As for the men, their conduct is proper in their camps, although some do not hesitate to make use of their women slaves. But when they go on caravans and arrive in the centers far from their country, they give free rein to their passion which a long abstinence has made more impetuous.

Adultery (aker) of women is often punished by death. The man does justice himself without anyone thinking to reproach him, killing the guilty parties by his own hand.

593 The very independent Tuareg woman has a very bad /294/ temper and in addition is often quite jealous. At the least misconduct by her husband, she goes home to her parents. She restores conjugal rights only after material compensation. For his part, the man is violent, and that often provokes disagreement in the household.

582 Obstacles to marriage. -- The cases of obstacles to marriage are identical with those fixed by Moslem law. It is forbidden to marry one's near relations, one's nurse or the child of one's nurse, or a woman having been fed with the same milk as oneself.

Alliances between Imochar and Imrad are very rare, for the Imochar who marries a woman from the vassal class makes his children lose the rights attached to his rank.

Noble and vassal women are willing to unite with Arabs, especially if they are marabouts, always on the condition that they respect monogamy, conform to Tuareg mores, and promise to live in the woman's camp. Tuareg men very seldom marry Arab women.

586 Divorce. -- Separation does not exist, so to speak, among the Tuareg, who make use of divorce, but do not abuse it. It is allowed by the Koran and is not subject to opprobrium. A Tuareg woman may ask for a divorce, while an Arab woman may not. The woman instigates it much more often than the man. The reasons set forth by the wife are usually bad treatment by her husband, insufficient support, embezzlement of animals, misconduct (which is a more rare motive), and sometimes nonpayment of the balance of the bride price.

The man more commonly sets forth misconduct, his wife's sterility, dispute over the bride price of animals, incompatibility, and often misunderstanding between the wife and her parents-in-law.

A few diseases such as leprosy may be grounds for divorce.

Divorces seldom take place without difficulties, and if a wife wants to leave her husband, any motive is good. The act of

837 There can be little doubt that the behavior patterns of the Tuareg on such occasions are often different from those which characterize them when they are among themselves.

We must not forget either that irregular sexual activities, before or after marriage, are all but impossible to conceal in the wide open spaces of a desert, whereas it is no trick at all to hide them among the blocks and sky-scrapers of great cities like Paris and New York or even in such provincial capitals as Boston and Algiers. All things considered, it seems rather unlikely that sexual laxity is more common among the Ahaggar Tuareg than it is in the urban communities of western Europe and America, at least in cases where husbands and their wives are separated as often and for comparable periods of time.

593 422 A bride retains full title to all her personal property including livestock, while the husband pays all the family expenses out of his own pocket although his wife may contribute if she feels so inclined. Women are treated 562 with the greatest respect and deference, but they can hold no office nor can they exercise any command beyond the very limited field of their own household affairs, nor can they appear in council or appoint speakers to represent them there. On very rare occasions a noble woman may intervene as an official peacemaker in a quarrel so serious that it might lead to a blood feud if allowed to go unchecked, and this can happen even in cases where the parties to the quarrel are not related to her by either blood or marriage, but only an older woman of very high rank and renowned for her intelligence, strength of character and diplomacy can ever play such a role.

611 The discerning reader will have noticed that the picture we have just examined is full of gaping holes which cannot be filled in at present for lack of the necessary information. In spite of this we get a distinct impression of a double descent system as defined by Gibson (1956): "the utilization in one society of both patrilineal and matrilineal principles of affiliation resulting in two lineage systems cross-cutting each other." Among the Ahaggar Tuareg the patrilineal descent system is "conjunctive" in that it provides channels of interaction between segments of a "disjunctive" matrilineal system which "divides the society

us that they are the descendants of a woman by the name of Tin Hinane. In the war which brought Azdjer and Ahaggar to arms, the tears of the Imanan women were the deciding factor in the Ahaggar taking up arms. 173 562

As to inheritance, it is known that this is handed down through the woman. It is from his mother that the son holds the right to command and to the collection of the "tioussé," or tribute from the "imr'ad," or serfs. Not only is the son noble or serf according as his mother is noble or serf regardless of the father's status, for "it is the womb that holds the child," but he also changes his tribe and becomes a member of his mother's tribe if she does not belong to the same one as her husband. 428 562 [611 565]

In life, the woman enjoys a freedom of conduct which is not customarily allowed in Moslem countries. 562 [171]

She does not veil her face like Moslem women except as a sign of respect, when she draws her veil, "ikerhi," over her face. [576]

She goes freely to pay visits to her parents, uncles, aunts, etc., and since she sees them seldom because of the distances between camps, custom decrees that the relative who receives her visit should make her a present. [574 431]

She has succeeded in maintaining monogamy, which is the rule among the Tūareg even though they are Moslems. /12/ [595]

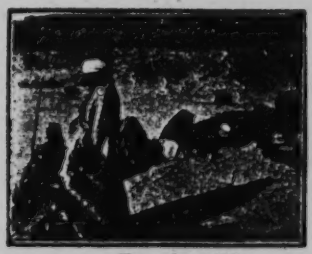
Even though married she may have a man friend, "amidi" [V], who sings her praises and makes verses for her, while she gives him something for his personal use. He is, in a way, her knight. Thus, although married, Dassine embroidered for her cousin, Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal of the Ahaggar, the bridle and breast strap of his horse, while Moussa, without hesitation, recited before everyone the lines which he composed in her praise, and often received her visits. 562 572

In the absence of her husband she may receive a man who comes to chat with her and pay her a visit, without the husband, on his return, dreaming of being annoyed. Only adultery in flagrante delicto can justify the anger of the husband. [574] [837 593]

and gaiety, always on condition that the conversation does not take place in the presence of relatives to whom the Tuareg who is addressed owes respect. 521 562 607

The Tuareg woman intervenes effectively in quarrels between the men of her family and, in order to please her, reconciliation takes place. Thus it was thanks to Rakhma, sister of Moussa ag Amastane, that the latter became reconciled with his brother-in-law, Anaba ag Amellal. 562 [573 578]

In short, one may say that nothing is ever done or said among the Tuareg in which the influence of the woman is not found, always and everywhere, and this will be seen as the reading of this article continues. /14/



[291]

Dautheville
Tuareg Group in the Oued Ti-n-amadal Settafen (Tifedest).

Chapter VI

Proposal of Marriage

Proposal of marriage, "ibadrahen" ⵉⴱⴰⴷⵔⴰⵀⴻⵏ , is governed by a definite rule of procedure. 584

The suitor for a woman's hand sends marabouts, if there are any, to her parents, or tolbas, or, lacking these, influential people who state his request.

The proposal must be known to all the relatives of the woman without exception; they must all be notified and

585 /145 cont./ Some tribes, in particular the Issakamaren, having adopted many Arab customs, observe the following custom on the day after the marriage: the husband who has not found his wife to be a virgin during the meal breaks the bone of a leg of meat, eats the marrow, blows through the inside, then sticks the two broken pieces in the couscous. In this way everyone knows the affront he has suffered. Later in life, when his wife becomes disagreeable, he will put his fist before his mouth and blow between the fingers, imitating his gesture of the first day. The woman, ashamed, will stop her recriminations. Following another custom less and less /146/ in use, the woman who has found her husband lacking in virility during the wedding night will crown him with her alechou /shawl/, thus showing to the world the impotence of her husband by considering him to be like a woman.

593 562 The woman holds a privileged position in Tuareg society. It is customary to say that the reason for this must lie in the matriarchal organization of the tribes.

Among the Tuareg today matriarchy survives only in a very attenuated form due to the presence of Islam. It must be noted that the woman is absolute mistress in the tent; she gives the orders to the children and the Negroes, and she organizes the daily life; but outside the tent the man commands; he decides on the camp moves, the departures of the caravans, the commercial transactions. The woman's opinion is always taken into consideration; she is guardian of the traditions, and, if she does not possess what we may call civil rights, it is she who transmits them: a Targui will be a noble if his mother is a noble. The right of eligibility to the amenokalat /chiefship of the confederation of tribes/ is given by the women who are directly descended in the maternal line from the ancestor Kella. This transmission of rights by the women constitutes the originality of Tuareg society.

[611]

837 Powerful in her home, lived by her husband, respected, the young wife has every chance to be happy. It is rare that

000. /148 cont./ carried out in connection with one on the Tuareg. The atavistic fear of the Negroes before the imouhar renders them mute, and gaining their confidence is a long-range undertaking; to learn of their intimate life, their joys and sorrows, would require great patience.

Still, the original character of the Ahaggar lies in just this intimate fusion of two dissimilar ways of life: one will never really know this country without understanding both the Tuareg and the Negroes and realizing what the true feelings they have about each other are, beyond what we observe superficially each day.

NOTE. Forms of religions, according to Huxley, follow a psychological determinism according to which the superior monotheistic religions are supposedly discovered by "men of thought" and polytheistic religions by "men of action." It is reasonable to ask whether the Tuareg, who formerly were, above all, "men of action," did not, for that reason, conserve survivals from neolithic religious beliefs, /149/ and whether the French peace, suppressing their essential activity, did not give rise in them to a psychological current leading to meditation and favoring Islamization. For the presence of Arab marabout, chorfa, and tolba, however active they may be, is not sufficient to explain that religious current which tends to make Tuareg customs disappear.

Note on Tuareg Matriarchy

593
562 The Ahaggar, which constitutes a sort of ethnic preserve where a system that is still feudal reigns, presents a sociological curiosity: a survival of the matriarchal family. This matriarchy, undermined by the growing influence of Islam, is tending to disappear. It is well to deny certain false ideas which circulate about the Tuareg family: "The woman

593 /149 cont./ commands." "Tuareg hospitality is characterized
562 by promiscuity, a sort of traditional prostitution." The truth is entirely different. The origin of Tuareg matriarchy is certainly lost in neolithic customs; ignorance of the process of conception may have been the cause. This familial organization led to exogamy, which tends to disappear; incest is
[835] a crime more terrible than murder. Matriarchy is the guardian of the caste system: the duty of mutual assistance bestows on the warriors (nobles) part of the fruits of others' labor and
[548] gives them ownership of the land. Prostitution does not exist; monogamy is the rule; the woman is respected. "Maternal rights," as L.-G. Richard says, "consist rather of mutual obligations than of prerogatives or advantages." There is no female liberty, for the woman owes herself to her family; in fact, she exercises no rights whatsoever; she transmits them. A custom still practiced, characteristic of matriarchy, is the requirement for the young husband to live a certain time in his wife's camp.

177 Let us repeat that Islam little by little is destroying the
593 matriarchal customs, particularly insofar as succession is con-
622 cerned, for they are increasingly regulated by Moslem practices. Today, the chiefs even desire to leave their power to their sons.

/151/ VI

Conclusion

000 The Ahaggar is, I believe, the most engaging part of the Sahara -- and I have conveyed neither the picturesqueness of the scenery, the attraction it has for travelers, nor the anguish it sometimes instills in certain souls, when from October to

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

233 583 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

233 436 593 431 604 604 643 The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*.

683 For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

233 436 682

	Age			*Colour*	
10	*ilgad*, or *chét awétay*	(one year old)	10	*ilbeydegin*	(white)
10	*ihusin*	(2 years old)	10	*iitlarin*	(mahogany)
10	*tekkenifadden*	(3 years old)	10	*izeggerin*	(reddish)
10	*iruyar*	(4 years old)	10	*ibhawin*	(reddish brown)
10	*chét essin*	(5 years old)	10	*ilemlarin*	(grey)
10	*chét okkoz*	(6 years old)	10	*izerifin*	(metallic grey)
10	*timesseras*	(7 years old)	10	*timengelin*	(dark grey)
10	*chét tahait*	(8 years old)	10	*itkewelin*	(black)
20	*tirekkumin*	(more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old)	10	*izerrafin*	(piebald)
			10	*tiwinarin*	(white cornea)

233 822 * 492 643 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

233 857 565 524 232 324 860 181 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[Text continues on p. 104]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

initiation rites. Arnold van Gennep in his famous study on rites of passage long ago pointed out the universal occurrence of such rites including wedding ceremonies (van Gennep 1909). But it seems as if their functional position has never been described in great detail, so I shall now try to analyse Tuareg wedding ceremonies where the groom and the bride were cross-cousins as prescribed by traditional marriage customs. Such a marriage gives rise to important modifications of kinship behaviour as follows:—

(1) Until their marriage the groom and the bride had a joking relationship to one another. It seems as if this tends to stop before marriage when the groom and the bride have come to know each other well but even though joking may cease before marriage, the position of the two cross-cousins becomes entirely different once they have married. For though the two have almost the same rights, the wife is expected to show her husband great respect, and while the husband will always address his wife by her name this is not reciprocal. A wife cannot address her husband by his name, but must call him *amṛar* which means "the old one" in a respectful sense. It is used as a designation for all elderly people to whom respectful behaviour is necessary, and is also a term for tribal chiefs (cf. p. 396). In Ayr a wife may also address her husband as *mai-gidā*, a word of Hausa origin, but with much the same meaning. The wife may also address her husband as the father of one of their children, e.g., *adda n Mokhammed*, that is "Mohammed's father". The wife's behaviour towards her husband should on the whole be very much like that of a person towards people of ascending generations. She is not expected to talk too much in her husband's company, and must not talk at all when strangers are visiting the camp. – One of the functions of the wedding ceremony is change of the free behaviour between partners into a respect relation. All Tuareg questioned about the matter have admitted that during the wedding ceremony they have felt almost "afraid" or "ashamed" towards the wife. Some of them say that though they already knew the bride extremely well sexually they did not cohabit with her during the seven days' stay in the wedding tent.

(2) The husband and the wife enter into a great many in-law relationships as the result of their marriage. To some of these in-laws joking has already been established owing to the cross-cousin relationship. To other brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, joking is adopted only after marriage. This of course is true of all brothers and sisters-in-law should husband and wife have no blood-relationship to each other. – The newly-married couple enters into an elaborate avoidance-relationship to their true and classificatory parents-in-law. Their position towards these relations before marriage was one of respect, which is now reinforced by avoidance. In Ayr the husband changes his joking relations with mother's brother's wife into avoidance. It seems as if avoidance relations established at a marriage partly explain the wedding ceremony, for the Tuareg say that a young and newly-married couple will sometimes stay in the wedding tent more than seven days on the grounds that they are afraid to emerge and meet the parents-in-law.

It seems as if the wedding ceremony in its whole arrangement corresponds well to the modification of kinship behaviour at a marriage. The dominating position of the husband is intimated by the fact that he comes first to the tent which is entered in a more direct way than is the case for the wife who comes later. It would seem as if the ceremony is less suited to marriages like those with a mother's sister's daughter or her daughter, as in such marriages the kinship behaviour of the spouses and in-